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A SURVEY OF SELECTED CICERONIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1939-1953

1. Introductory

This paper does not attempt to treat publications pertaining to all aspects of Cicero's life and works, only those relevant to the private and public life of that author and his period; consequently there will be frequent reference to studies on the letters and the orations, but very little to articles on the philosophical or rhetorical works. In making up the list of books and articles to be discussed, I have kept in mind the idea of not writing primarily for the Ciceronian specialist, who will have to make up his own list for any particular study on which he may be working, and I have therefore not tried to be absolutely complete. I have further very drastically limited the citation of works which could not readily be discovered by simple inter-library loan without a search, and I have usually not discussed works written in languages other than Latin, French, German, Italian, and English.

The usual bibliographical aids have been employed, and this paper is intended to be reasonably complete through Volume XXII of L'Année Philologique, which appeared in 1953. Since it seemed unwise to disregard works of later date than 1951 just because no more recent volume of Marouzeau has yet been published, I have included what I have found myself for the years 1952 and 1953, with the certainty that I am far from the

completeness of MIle. Ernst's future volumes. I have seen all the works discussed unless it is specifically noted to the contrary.

My intention has also been to include numerous items, as on Caesar, which are important for the study of Ciceronian politics and society, but whose titles would not lead the student at first to realize their relevance; that is, some of the material ancillary to the study of Cicero is actually the most significant. Important or extensive reviews have often been noted when they add information to that found in the books reviewed. In general there is no mention of books or articles which are unlikely to be found in even the great libraries of this country, and which at the same time do not seem to be of major significance. This is also true in the case of the ordinary school texts of the orations, which anyone can readily discover for himself in any year in Marouzeau. The abbreviations are the ones generally used in the United States, which usually correspond to those employed in L'Année Philologique,

2. General Works

One of the main reasons for beginning this paper with 1939 is that two significant works appeared in that year. The first is the article on "M. Tullius Cicero (als Politiker)" by M. Gelzer in RE 7a, columns 827-1091. The article is of the greatest value because of Gelzer's immense knowledge of this period and because of his combination of imagination and sanity in his treatment of the sources. Gelzer managed to incorporate a super-

lative number of references to ancient sources, modern bibliography, and other articles in RE. The reader will do well to note Gelzer's discussion of modern bibliography in columns 1090f., for it is of course impossible to neglect such earlier works as Drumann-Groebe, Geschichte Roms. On many points the person interested in Ciceronian politics will also need to consult the other ample articles (RE 7A, cols. 1091ff.), "Rhetorische Schriften" (W. Kroll), "Philosophische Schriften" (Philippson), "Briefe" and "Fragmente" (K. Büchner). The next portion of RE 7A, which appeared in 1943, contains valuable articles on Cicero's son (R. Hanslik), Cicero's brother and nephew (F. Münzer), on Tiro (P. Groebe), on Tullia (P. Groebe), and on other Ciceronian connections.

The other important work which appeared in 1939 is R. Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford). Syme considers politics especially after 60 B.c.; he was strongly influenced by the work of Gelzer and Münzer, and his approach is mainly prosopographical. While not everyone would agree with Syme's methods and approach, his book has had marked influence upon other scholars' thinking and can be considered to have begun a distinct trend in the publications on the Ciceronian and Augustan periods. The trend has perhaps gone too far and it would not be surprising if some sort of modification or reaction should soon begin. In our zeal to understand practical politics we have possibly become too "practical," for in the years 1939-1953 there is a notable absence of extensive and vigorous publication on non-political aspects of Ciceronian life and literature. There is a noteworthy review of Syme's book by A. Momigliano in JRS 30 (1940) 75-80.

While a number of other useful books have appeared, there has been no new volume of any size or of any scholarly pretensions dealing with a large aspect of Cicero's life or works. Although he should be warned to use Drumann's interpretations with care and to look for the modifications by Groebe, it will still be necessary to send the student to Drumann-Groebe's fifth and sixth volumes of their Geschichte Roms (1912-1929) for really monumental collections of Ciceronian information. We must give a grateful welcome, however, to the thoughtful and conservative second edition of E. Ciaceri, Cicerone e i suoi tempi (Milan 1939-1941).

H. J. Haskell has produced for us a much better book than its title would indicate in *This Was Cicero: Modern Politics in a Roman Toga* (New York 1942). While the author has marked scholarly limitations, he understands politics thoroughly and his book is ideal for recommendation to undergraduates. Mr. Haskell will also be remembered as the author of *The New Deal in Old Rome*, which has appeared in a second edition (New York 1947).

Hartvig Frisch, a Danish statesman-professor, wrote on Cicero's Fight for the Republic (Copenhagen 1946), in which he examined the historical background of Cicero's *Philippics*, a topic which his book suggests might well repay further attention (see my review in AJP 69 [1948] 224-226). Two scholars have devoted treatises to Cicero and Caesar: J. Klass, Cicero und Caesar: Ein Beitrag zur Aufhellung ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen (Berlin 1939); H. Willrich, Cicero und Caesar: Zzeischen Senatsherrschaft und Gottkönigtum (Göttingen 1944). Willrich's book is on a broader scale and meant for a wider audience than Klass' monograph.

A. Quartulli wrote a rather popular narrative of I grandi processi di Cicerone (no place of imprint, 1940). There is a review in JRS 41 (1951) 200f. by W. S. Watt of a book which I have not seen on the chronology of Verres' trial: N. Marinone, Quaestiones Verrinae (Turin 1950). There is a careful discussion by E. Malcovati of Cicerone e la poesia (Pavia 1943;=Annali della facoltà di lettere e di filosofia della Università di Cagliari, Vol. 13). There is a distinct language barrier for most students in Cl. Beukers, Cicero's Godsdienstigheid (Brus-

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sels 1942), but one can at least use pp. 206-218 which contain Latin passages from Cicero bearing on the subject of the book.

3. The Age of Cicero

Since it is necessary to include at least the major works on Cicero's contemporaries, we must first notice M. Gelzer, Caesar der Politiker und Staatsmann3 (Munich 1941). The work is scholarly although it has no footnotes but rather refers the reader for documentation to the RE articles by Gelzer on Crassus, Lucullus, Catiline, and Cicero. There is a useful review of the book by R. Syme in JRS 34 (1944) 92-103. Gelzer has also given us some real help to understanding the enigma of Pompey in his biography of that puzzling figure (2nd ed.; Munich 1949; reviewed by J. P. V. D. Balsdon in Historia 1 [1950] 296-300, and by F. E. Adcock in JRS 40 [1950] 135-137). We are also fortunate in having Miltner's account of the several Pompeys in RE (1952). More popular is the French biography of Caesar by G. Walter which appears also in an English translation (New York 1952); while this book pursues the "human features" of Caesar, it also contains Notes and References, and a Bibliography.

J. Carcopino has published a fourth edition (1950) of his César, of which I have seen only the third (1943). This is the 2e section of Tome II of the Histoire romaine of the Histoire générale. H. Last wrote a long review of the first edition of the entire Tome II (1929-1936) in JRS 34 (1944) 116-121. While Carcopino's work on Caesar is useful, the reader should be warned that Carcopino is inclined to promulgate his theories as facts.

Some work has been done on other personages of the Ciceronian Period. As to the book of P. Meloni, Servio Sulpicio Rufo e i suoi tempi (Annali della fac. di lettere ... Cagliari 1946), I have seen only the reviews: G. E. F. Chilver, CR 64 (1950) 36; J. F. Lockwood, JRS 41 (1951) 159f.; L. R. Taylor, CP 46 (1951) 134. W. C. Grummel has published an abridgement of his New York University dissertation on The Life and Career of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (New York 1952). Far too little attention has been paid to the popular but good biography of Marcus Brutus by M. Radin (New York 1939). E. Manni, Lucio Sergio Catilina (Florence 1939) is a new defense of Catiline, with a good control of ancient sources but chiefly remarkable for its effort to connect the oath of Catiline with the rites of Mâ-Bellona; it is reviewed by R. Meiggs, CR 54 (1940) 162f., and by M. I. Henderson, JRS 31 (1941) 176-178.

A book which is having far-reaching influence on our thinking about this period is L. R. Taylor, Party Politics in the Age of Caesar (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1949; = Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. XXII; see my review in AJP 71 [1950] 417-420). The book has a distinctly twentieth century approach to the realities of politics and party strife in the late Republic. This book and Syme's Roman Revolution are probably the two most important works

of interpretation to appear between 1939 and 1953, although neither is concerned primarily with Cicero. Both works are also good summations to date of scholarly work on their topics.

Another noteworthy book, which would be more influential if copies in the U. S. were not so rare, is H. Strasburger, Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte (Munich 1938), reviewed by L. R. Taylor, CP 36 (1941) 413f. Strasburger's thesis is that ancient writers were wrongly inclined to read importance back into the early acts of Caesar. Some objections to this thesis, which do not seem valid to me, are expressed by O. Seel, "Zur Kritik der Quellen über Caesars Frühzeit," Klio 34 (1941/42) 196-238.

There are some other works of interest to our general interpretation of the period. R. Syme tried to discover what the Romans themselves thought about the fall of the Roman Republic, and which men they blamed, in A Koman Post-Mortem: An Inquest on the Fall of the Koman Republic (Sydney 1950; = Todd Memorial Lecture, 3). Some valuable background for understanding the political strengths and weaknesses of the first century B.C. can be obtained from H. H. Scullard, Roman Politics, 220-150 B.C. (Oxford 1951). The reader is likely to be disappointed by Scullard's revision of F. B. Marsh, at History of the Roman World from 146-30 B.C. (London 1953) for Scullard's changes are largely confined to Additional Notes on pp. 403-441. In Part II of F. B. Marsh, Modern Problems in the Ancient World (Austin 1943) there are three pertinent essays: "Agricultural Depression and the Army," "Machine Politics and Efficiency," and "The Breakdown of Constitutional Government," Although it is not limited to our period, the reader will be helped in his general approach to the period by M. Hammond, City-State and World State in Greek and Roman Political Theory until augustus (Cambridge, Mass. 1951).

Some valuable studies on particular points which may not have come to the attention of the reader in connection with Cicero are: J. W. Heaton, Mob 1 iolence in the Late Roman Republic, 133-49 B.C. (Urbana 1939; = Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. 23, No. 4); H. J. Loane, Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B.C.-200 A.D.) (Baltimore 1938; = The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ser. 56, No. 2); L. Robinson, Freedom of Speech in the Roman Republic (Baltimore 1940; with a long review by A. Momigliano, JRS 32 [1942] [20-124, and a shorter one by M. P. Charlesworth, CR 57 [1943] 49); a second edition of G. H. Stevenson, Roman Provincial Administration till the Age of the Antonines (Oxford 1949, which I have not seen, but which has the same number of pages as the edition of 1939), although for specific help on the Ciceronian Period one might better read J. M. Cobban, Senate and Provinces, 78-49 B.C. (Cambridge 1935); and Ch. Wirszubski, Libertas as a

Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate (Cambridge 1950; with the review by A. Momigliano, JRS 41 [1951] 146-153).

It is no longer enough to read Mommsen, much less Abbott or Greenidge, on the Roman constitution. There is much of value in W. F. Jashemski, The Origins and History of the Proconsular and the Propraetorian Imperium to 27 B.C. (Chicago 1950); and it will be imperative to make constant reference to the masterly and epochal work of T. R. S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic (Vol. II: 99 B.C.—31 B.C.; New York 1952;=Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, Vol. XV. 2).

The Ciceronian will be concerned with at least the first two chapters of S. F. Bonner, Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire (Liverpool 1949), which he might supplement by the article of M. L. Clarke, "The Thesis in the Roman Rhetorical Schools of the Republic," CQ 45 (1951) 159-166. Also useful is E. H. Haight, The Roman Use of Ancedotes in Cicero, Livy, and the Satirists (New York 1940). He can likewise derive assistance from the list of about 800 publications, grouped according to problems and often with some indication of contents, in A. D. Leeman, "A Systematical Bibliography of Sallust (1879-1950)," Mnemosyme 1952 (Supplementum Quartum).

The study of Ciceronian public and private life occasionally leads into gentle subjects, where good use can be made of the following excellent publications: P. Grimal, Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l'empire (Paris 1943;=Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 155), along with which might be read Grimal's article on gardens as a means of understanding ancient civilization, in Lettres d'humanité 6 (1947), 23-40; A. H. Griffiths, Temple Treasures (Philadelphia 1943), which deals mostly with temple treasures mentioned by Cicero; G. Lugli, Roma Antica: Il centro monumentale (Rome 1946); G. Lugli, Monumenti minori del Foro Romano (Rome 1947), to the first chapter of which should now be added the discussion of the arrangement of the Comitium in Republican times by E. Sjögvist in Studies Presented to David M. Robinson I (St. Louis 1951) 400-411: D. M. Robathan, The Monuments of Ancient Rome (Rome 1950); B. Schweitzer, Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik (Leipzig 1948), which concerns our period and the portraiture of its great men but of which I have seen only the review by J. M. C. Toynbee, JRS 41 (1951) 172-174; J. M. C. Toynbee, Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World (Brussels 1951; = Collection Latomus, Vol. 6), which I have not seen but which I presume is the same as the author's papers under the same title in Latomus 8 (1949) 307-316, 9 (1950) 49-65, 175-182, 295-302, 389-394; G. Ricci's article in Antichità II, 1 (1950) 33-87, which I have not seen but in which he takes up the formation of private

and public art collections mentioned in Cicero's correspondence, in the course of a discussion of art relations between Greece and Italy: L. M. Wilson, The Clothing of the Ancient Romans (Baltimore 1938), with the additional information on women's clothing which comes from the discussions in AJA 43 (1939) 171-173 (M. Bieber), 546f. (L. M. Wilson). I have not seen K. H. Heuer, Comitas, facilitas, liberalitas: Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Kultur der ciceronischen Zeit (Diss. Münster 1941). No individual work has appeared in our years of the scope of W. Kroll, Die Kultur der ciceronischen Zeit (2 vols.; Leipzig 1933).

4. Editions and Translations

This paper is not intended to discuss editions of Cicero's works, for of them there is no end, but it seems prudent to call the reader's attention to some editions which are of more than textual value. F. P. Donnelly has given us a rhetorical commentary on the Manilian Law (New York 1939). R. G. Nisbet's edition (Oxford 1939) of the De domo sua is the first edition of that oration in English since 1856, and very helpful in understanding a most complex oration. E. Remy undertook a two volume edition (Vol. 1 the text and translation, Vol 2 the commentary) of the first, eighth, and fourteenth Philippics; the work was published posthumously by C. Hanoteau and S. Patris as fascicles 6 and 7 of the 3rd series of Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologic of the University of Louvain (1941). The second edition of R. G. Austin's Pro Caelio (Oxford 1952) has a completely revised commentary, with corrections in the rest of the book.

The two volumes of the Paravia edition of the Ad Familiares (ed. H. Moricca, Turin 1950) form a scholarly edition which is most welcome; it also has Testimonia and a chronological table of the letters Ad Fam. (with bibliography). A. Moricca-Caputo, after the death of H. Moricca, took over the task of editing the letters Ad Atticum, and has brought out Att. 1-8 in two volumes (1953); the edition is notable for a full apparatus criticus, with much citation of pertinent bibliography. Volume IV of the invaluable Budé edition of the Letters has appeared (1950), with the last letter being Att. 6.8, of Oct. 1, 50; only part of Vol. IV is by L.-A. Constans, the rest is by J. Bayet who carries on in the vigorous tradition. Volumes I-III of the same edition were reprinted in 1950, with Volumes I and III now being in their fourth editions while Volume II is in its third edition. Of the Budé edition of the orations we have Vol. XII (1938) which contains the Pro Archia by F. Gaffiot and the Pro Flacco by A. Boulanger, and Vol. XI (1946) which contains the Pro Murena and the Pro Sulla by A. Boulanger; I have not seen Vol. XVII, (1949), containing Pro C. Rabirio Postumo, Pro Milone by A. Boulanger, and Vol. XVIII (1952) containing Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro by M. Lob. The cautious Ciceronian will extend his political interests widely enough to consult the admirable Loeb volumes, especially the 1939 volume containing the Brutus by G. L. Hendrickson and the Orator by H. M. Hubbell, and Hubbell's 1949 volume containing the De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, and Topica. He will also note that K. Ziegler's De legibus (Heidelberg 1950) has a useful introduction as well as a scholarly text.

In the present day it is perhaps necessary to call attention to volumes of translations. M. Hadas brought out *The Basic Works of Cicero* for the Modern Library (1951), and *Selected Works of Cicero* appeared from the hands of H. M. Hubbell, Isabelle K. and Antony E. Raubitschek, and Louise R. Loomis (New York 1948). H. M. Poteat made the translations of the *Brutus, On the Nature of the Gods, On Divination, On Duties* (Chicago 1950). No single volume can give a proper idea of Cicero's works, and everyone has different ideas as to the proper selection, but all these scholars have given us conscientious selections and translations.

5. Varia

There are a certain number of books which the present writer believes can safely be neglected by the serious student: H. Eulenberg's biography of Cicero, which I have seen in the French edition of 1935 (Paris) but which has also appeared in German in 1949 and in Italian in 1950; A. F. Witley [Sándor Forbát], The Tremulous Hero; The Age and Life of Cicero, Orator, Advocate, Thinker and Statesman (London 1939), which is not in many libraries in this country, and which I only vaguely recall having seen, but with the impression that it is better than its title; M. van den Bruwaene, Études sur Cicéron (Brussels 1946; see my review in AJP 70 [1949] 97-99); R. N. Wilkin, Eternal Lawyer: A Legal Biography of Cicero (New York 1947; see my review in AJP 70 [1949] 109 f.); F. R. Cowell, Cicero and the Roman Republic (New York 1948; see my review in CJ 45 [1949/50] 55-57).

Probably the most troublesome book to appear in these years is J. Carcopino, Les secrets de la correspondance de Cicéron (2 vols.; Paris 1947), of which an English translation appeared in 1951. The author is a scholar of great skill and competence, but the book was written to prove an almost certainly untenable thesis and it has impressed most reviewers as anti-Ciceronian and tendentious. The most ridiculous incidental influence of the book was in the U. S., where an exchange of letters in print as to what the book showed about American scholarship led H. Bloch to point out to these correspondents that the book was not produced by an American professor and that Carcopino's politics are far from

radical (American Bar Association Journal 38 [1952] 1048f., with reference to 285-288).

If there is need to see the reaction produced by Carcopino's book, the most conspicuous reviews and discussion are probably those of P. Boyancé, REA 51 (1949) 129-138; A. Piganiol, RH 201 (1949) 224-234, with the reply by J. Carcopino, RH 202 (1949) 59-78; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, JRS 40 (1950) 134f. There is a good discussion in The Times Literary Supplement for Sept. 7, 1951, which also points out that the English translation has blundered in some places. The most recent attack on the book is by A. D. Leeman, Mnemosyne Ser. 4, Vol. 6 (1953) 58-61.

The reader might be misled by the following titles through no fault of the authors. Hartvig Frisch, Cicero og Caesar (Copenhagen 1946) is merely a translation into Danish of Latin passages which show the relationship of the two men. The Library of Congress card indicates that the following is a children's book: L. M. Mohr, In the Days of the Romans (Chicago and New York 1940).

6. Articles: General

We may begin our discussion of articles by a notice of the article in which E. A. Robinson furnishes addenda to Laurand's Cicéron in CIV 39 (1945/46) 115-117. L. W. Daly, in his essay on Roman study abroad, drew principally from information given by Cicero, AJP 71 (1950) 40-58. R. J. Smutny has given a good survey of the sources of Cicero's income in CW 45 (1951/ 52) 49-56. A. Afzelius has pointed out that Cicero had the support of some nobles when he spoke for Sex. Roscius, C&M 5 (1942) 209-217. L. R. Taylor demonstrated that Cicero held the plebeian, not the curule, aedileship, AJP 60 (1939) 194-202. F. L. Jones discussed the First Catilinarian Conspiracy in CJ 34 (1938/ 39) 410-422, and the same topic was treated in even greater detail by H. Frisch, C&M 9 (1948) 10-36. R. P. Robinson identified as C. Cornelius and M. Caeparius the two Roman knights who came to murder Cicero on Nov. 7, 63, CW 40 (1946/47) 138-143; while W. Allen, Jr. explained that the reason the two knights expected to kill Cicero in lecto at his salutatio on that date was because it was proper etiquette to receive less important callers before arising, Studies Presented to David M. Robinson II (St. Louis 1953) 707-710. The aspect of financial distress as a motive in the Catilinarian Conspiracy was variously discussed by W. Allen, Jr., CJ 34 (1938/39) 70-85, and by R. Scalais, LEC 8 (1939) 487-492. E. D. Eagle, in Phoenix 3 (1949) 15-30, although he deals mainly with 63 B.C., actually gives a good review of prior scholarship on politics and constitution while he tried to decide whether there were in ancient Rome political parties of the modern national type; by this article Eagle may mark the beginning of a reaction from the extreme statement of family politics as expounded by Syme, for the author insists upon "social and economic groupings" as opposed to Syme's "nexus of personal obligations."

In Athenacum N. S. 24 (1946) 55-67, E. Manni reaffirms his conviction that the oath of the Catilinarian Conspirators shows the influence of Mā-Bellona, while J. Heurgon, in Mélanges Charles Picard (Paris 1949) I 438-447 (which is part of RA for 1949), finds that the oath was an Oriental exsecratio accompanied by degustatio, which was inspired by examples of Tigranes, whose fellow-conspirators tasted each other's blood. The final item on Catiline is by J. J. Savage, who wrote briefly on Catiline in Vergil and in Cicero, CJ 36 (1940/41) 225f. I have not seen the following article which is undoubtedly significant for the Catilinarian Conspiracy: O. J. Todd, "Dates in the Autumn of 63 RC," Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood (= The Phoenix, Supplementary Vol. I; Toronto 1952).

W. Allen, Jr. discusses the circumstances under which in 63 B.c. Cicero gave up Cisalpine Gaul to Metellus Celer as his future province, TAPA 83 (1952) 233-241; to this article should be added the suggestion by the same author that a single governor was in acting command of both Narbonese Gaul and Cisalpine Gaul in 63 B.C., CP 48 (1953) 176f. There is much pertinent information in a series of four articles by A. Alföldi in MH 1950-1953 on "Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik"; of particular relevance to Cicero is the discussion of the meaning of parens patriae in MH 9 (1952) 204-243, 10 (1953) 103-124, and the true significance of regarding a person as a new Romulus, in MH 8 (1951) 190-215.

C. Cremaschi has given us a full discussion of Cicero's exile and of his attitude in the face of it, Acrum 18 (1944) 133-168.

In an article on the province of Cilicia, Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler (Manchester 1939) 299-332, R. Syme made some remarks which deserve wider circulation than that volume is likely to receive. He showed that Cicero's province was regarded as very important at the time he was there, but that it was reduced in area and importance after his time. Syme also undertook to date Fam. 13.43-46 and 13.73-74 by showing that Philippus was proconsul of Cilicia (rather than of Asia) in (probably) 47/46 B.C. In this connection one might also look at A. R. Bellinger's numismatic study which throws light on the economic and political condition of Syria in the Ciceronian Period, Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Johnson (Princeton 1951) 58-67; in TAPA 82 (1951) 149-163 G. Downey discussed the policies which led up to Pompey's annexation of Syria as a Roman province in 64 B.C.

There was a rather profitless argument about the location of Cicero's Pompeian villa, with G. Spano trying to emphasize the geographical proximity of the Pompeianum of Cicero and the Stabianum of M. Marius, Antiquitas I, 1 (1946) 55-88; A. Maiuri replied to Spano, PP 2 (1947) 39-47. M. A. Sollmann has written a good discusion of Cicero's villas and their different qualities, with each villa intended for a different purpose, Studies Presented to David M. Robinson II (St. Louis 1953) 1238-1246. G. McCracken wrote a full discussion of Cicero's Tusculan villa in CJ 30 (1934/35) 261-277, to which we now add columns 1488f. of the same author's article on Tusculum in RE (1943); the Ciceronian will also be interested by McCracken's description of the villa and tomb of Lucullus at Tusculum, AJA 46 (1942) 325-340. The location of Cicero's house on the Palatine Hill is discussed by W. Allen, Jr., CJ 35 (1939/40) 134-143, 291-295; and the same author has shown that Clodius built a shrine to Libertas on part of the site of Cicero's house as a sign that Rome was rid of an excessively powerful man after Cicero was driven into exile, TAPA 75 (1944) 1-9.

7. Articles: The Letters

R. Stark has expounded a startling thesis which cannot be accepted without further examination; he seems to maintain that the closing dates in Cicero's letters are due to the work of ancient scholars, and also that there are chronological interpolations in the text of the letters, RhM 94 (1951) 180-202. Another article which calls for early discussion and reply is by M. I. Henderson, who ably revived an old controversy by attacking Quintus' authorship of the Commentariolum petitionis on the grounds of factual errors in the document, JRS 40 (1950) 8-21.

The minor figure of Vettius, especially as regards his activity in 59, was treated by W. C. McDermott in TAPA 80 (1949) 351-367, L. R. Taylor in Historia 1 (1950) 45-51, W. Allen, Jr. in TAPA 81 (1950) 153-163, P. R. Brunt in CQ 47 (1953) 62-64. Miss Taylor claimed that Att. 2.24 should be dated about July 17 and that the other pertinent letters should be read in the order Att. 2.18, 19, 23, 24, 20, 21, 22, 25; Brunt defends the traditional dating. McDermott shows that Caesar instigated Vettius from 63 to 59; Miss Taylor maintained that Caesar's chief aim was to discredit the younger Curio with the electorate; Allen added that Caesar instigated Vettius in 59 B.c. in order to alienate Pompey from Cicero and to discredit the younger Curio who was possibly acting under Cicero's influence.

There have been three independent efforts to interpret Fam. 3.11.2, which is important for our understanding of the lex Cornelia maiestatis: R. J. M. Lindsay in CP 44 (1949) 240-243; R. S. Rogers in TAPA 82 (1951) 196-199; R. E. Smith in the course of tracing the law of libel from Naevius to Augustus, CQ 45 (1951) 169-179,

A. Guillemin has shown the principles of the variety of history Cicero (Fam. 5.12) wanted Lucceius to write, REL 16 (1938) 96-103, a topic which is dealt with in greater detail by B. L. Ullman in his paper on history and tragedy, TAPA 73 (1942) 25-53. L. R. Taylor has an article on the chronology of Cicero's letters in 56-55 B.C. which is interesting in this connection as dating the letter to Lucceius in April of 55, and as indicating that the letter has some bearing on the genesis of the De oratore, CP 44 (1949) 217-221.

E. A. Robinson, with regard to Att. 13.12.3, has shown that Cicero resumed literary work shortly after his return to Rome in Oct., 47, after an interruption since 51, and also that Fam. 9.1 should be dated shortly after Oct., 47, TAPA 80 (1949) 368-374. The same author, in a discussion of the date of the Brutus, helps us to understand the roles of Brutus and Atticus, as well as Cicero's activities in 47-46, HSCP 60 (1951) 137-146. M. Fiévez has written a very interesting hypothetical reconstruction, on the basis of letters, of the time-table of composition of the De officiis, Latomus 12 (1953) 261-274.

The remaining articles on the correspondence deal with particular points. W. A. Laidlaw and M. Johnston published brief discussions on the greeting in Cicero's letters, CP 34 (1939) 251f., 35 (1940) 304. F. Adami, taking up the fragment of a letter from Caesar to Cicero (Charisius 1,21.66; also to be found on p. 351 of Vol. VI of the second edition of Tyrrell and Purser, The Correspondence of Cicero), maintains in an article I have not seen that it does not refer to Q. Cicero and the events at Atuatuca but rather to the fifteen cohorts commanded by Q. Titurius Sabinus in 54, Hermes 78 (1943) 281-285. G. P. Shipp explains, with reference to Fam. 9.20.1, that elaborate dinners sometimes did not begin with eggs, CP 39 (1944) 117. F. F. Jones shows that the Rhosica vasa of Att. 6.1.13 described a lead glazed pottery in bright colors, AJA 49 (1945) 45-51. E. Bignone's essay on the style and language of the correspondence is from Vol. III of his Storia della letteratura latina, Antiquitas I, 2 (1946) 67-73. L. Harmand undertook to settle the problem in Fam. 13.64 as to why Silius could exert influence in Nysa (in Caria) in the interest of Tiberius Claudius Nero, Latomus 6 (1947) 23-29. I have not seen M. Fasciato's discussion of the Antiochus Gabinius of Att. 4.18.4, the painter whom Gabinius had made his confidential attendant, MEFR 59 (1947) 84-88. J. A. O. Larsen says that the peregrinis indicibus of Att. 6.1.15 means "foreign judges" brought in from outside, CP 43 (1948) 187-190. W. S. Watt discusses three difficult passages in Att. 4.3, CQ 43 (1949) 9-21. J. Heurgon claims that Cicero's letter of consolation to Sittius (Fam. 5.17) was written not long after May, 56, Latomus 9 (1950) 369-377. W. Allen, Jr. writes that the phrase fabam mimum in Att. 1.16.13 is based on Cicero's humor about the fact that the consul of 60 and the comic poet

both had the name of L. Afranius, with a discussion of the amusement Cicero derived from the phrase Auli filius, TAPA 82 (1951) 127-135. L. R. Taylor has shown that the lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia, to be dated in 55 B.C., was designed to strengthen the clients and adherents of Caesar and his associates; it was a tribunitial law intended to solve problems created by the agrarian laws of 59, Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Johnson (Princeton 1951) 68-78. R. S. Young points out that the prohibition against burial within the city of Athens, mentioned in Fam. 4.12.3, seems to have been introduced at about the end of the sixth century B.C., and not to have applied to cremation, although cremation of adults in the city apparently also ceased at that time, Hesperia 20 (1951) 67-134. M. van den Bruwaene discusses the senatus consultum of Oct., 51 (Fam. 8.8), which pertains to Caesar's provinces and consular candidacy, LEC 21 (1953) 19-27. In TAPA 84 (1953) W. Allen, Jr. will publish a paper showing that the fragment of Cicero's letter to Axius in Suet. Iul. 9.2 does not implicate Caesar in the First Catilinarian Conspiracy. I have not seen P. Numminen's brief monograph (Turku 1953) on the famous letter about Lucretius (Q. fr. 2.9.3), but it is ably reviewed, with a history of the problem, by R. T. Bruère, in CP 49 (1954) 53f.

8. Articles: The Orations

The articles pertaining to the orations are scattered over a variety of topics. R. Scalais has tried to reconstruct the circumstances of a speech before a quaestio perpetua, LEC 19 (1951) 190-208. F. Solmsen published two articles which are important not only to the student of rhetoric but also to the person who wishes to use the evidence from the orations; one of these articles is a rhetorical analysis of Cicero's first orations, TAPA 69 (1938) 542-556, the other treats of Aristotle and Cicero on the topic of the orator's playing upon the feelings, CP 33 (1938) 390-404. H. Fraenkel writes that in Sex. Rosc. 117 Cicero as a pun pronounced praediis as praedis, which could be taken as the ablative of praedae, PP 7 (1952) 211.

C. Höeg does not carry complete conviction when he urges that the Actio Secunda of the Verrines was delivered, Drayma M. P. Nilsson dedicatum (Lund 1939) 264-279 (I give this reference at second-hand, although I read the article some years ago; I believe the book is published as Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae II, 1). J. Carcopino has written on Cicero's exaggerations about Verres' "murders of Roman citizens," RIDA 1950 (Mélanges Fernand De Visscher III) 229-266. F. Tietze discussed the text of Verr. 2.5.113 and wishes to read vos exstinguere, Hermes 80 (1952) 125-128. L. F. Smith decides that Verres is a nomen rather than a cognomen, CJ 49 (1953/54) 231-233. J. Humbert gives us a

rhetorical study of the *Pro Cluentio*, *REL* 16 (1938) 275-296, while E. C. Woodley supplies us with a popular discussion of the same oration, *CJ* 42 (1946/47) 415-418.

A. Afzelius, with regard to the proposed agrarian legislation of 63, has discussed the contents of the bill, its political purpose, etc., C&M 3 (1940) 214-235, while L. Agnes has expounded two small points in connection with the Rullan bill, RFIC N. S. 21 (1943) 35-45. D. Tabachovitz thinks that Cicero was recalling Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides when in Cat. 1.11 he said: Non est saepius in uno homine etc., Eranos 47 (1949) 129-137. W. C. McDermott remarked that Caesar used comperisse later to make fun of Cicero's use of the word in 63, Latomus 6 (1947) 173-175. A. Boulanger, in writing on the publication of the Pro Murena, finds that the reference to publicani in Mur. 62 could not have been inserted in the speech before 60 B.C., REA 42 (1940; Mélanges Radet) 382-387. J. H. Taylor has written on the political motives in Cicero's defense of Archias, AJP 73 (1952) 62-70, and M. van den Bruwaene has tried to clear up some of the problems in subject matter and political references in the De haruspicum responsis, AC 17 (1948) 81-92. In an article on the brontoscopic calendar of Nigidius Figulus, A. Piganiol gives us some idea of the basis of the reply of the soothsayers which Cicero discussed in Har. resp. 40, Studies in Rom. Econ. and Soc. Hist. in Honor of A. C. Johnson (Princeton 1951) 79-87. P. H. DeLacy pointed out that Cicero, in his invective against Piso, used current and general anti-Epicurean arguments, TAPA 72 (1941) 49-58; W. Allen, Jr. and P. H. DeLacy collaborated on an article on the patrons of Philodemus, among whom was Piso, CP 34 (1939) 59-65

9. Articles: Ideas and Ideals

It is frequently useful to have information on the extent of Cicero's knowledge. R. E. Jones has discussed fully the matter of Cicero's accuracy of characterization in his dialogues, AJP 60 (1939) 307-325. V. Paladini wrote on Cicero's historical thought and his views on the duty of the historian, treating not only the letter to Lucceius (Fam. 5.12, of which I have noted particular discussions above), but also Brut. 42, De or. 2.62, etc., RAL Ser. 8, Vol. 2 (1947) 511-522. T. B. DeGraff shows us that Cicero knew Plato well, CP 35 (1940) 143-153. J. Humbert treated Cicero's careful translation and use of a portion of Plato's Phaedrus on the immortality of the soul, Mélanges Ernout (Paris 1940) 197-200. B. Meinecke gives us an essay on Cicero's medical conceptions as they relate to his principles for mental and physical health, CJ 41 (1945/46) 113-118. V. A. Georgesco, in interpreting the relationship of Cicero with iuris prudentia, decided that Cicero was an orator interested in the philosophy of law but not himself a iuris prudens, Mélanges Marouzeau (Paris 1948) 189-206. H. Kornhardt discussed the meanings of summum ius in Cicero, Hermes 81 (1953) 77-85; K. H. Roloff has treated the significance of the word caerimonia, Glotta 32 (1952/53) 101-138. P. R. Coleman-Norton has produced an encyclopaedic discussion of all Cicero's allusions to music, or turns of phrase referring to music, Jour. Amer. Musicological Soc. I, 2 (1948) 3-22; the same scholar has written on Cicero's contribution to the text of the Twelve Tables, CJ 46 (1950/51) 51-60, 127-134.

Next come the works on Cicero's ideals. A. D. Leeman has a good summary in English in his book on Gloria (Rotterdam 1949), in which we learn that the book is concerned with "Cicero's conception of glory and its background in Hellenistic philosophy and Roman society." F. A. Sullivan finds that Cicero's desire for gloria was his desire for immortality, that gloria was the reward for great deeds, TAPA 72 (1941) 382-391. J. J. Sullivan described Cicero's views on a mortal's obtaining divinity, CW 37 (1943/44) 157-159, while F. A. Sullivan devoted to Cicero about half of his essay on intimations of immortality among the ancient Romans, CJ 39 (1943/44) 15-24. P. Boyancé discussed the contemplated apotheosis of Tullia against the background of contemporary ideas, especially those of immortality, REA 46 (1944) 179-184. F. Solmsen wrote briefly on Cicero on the topic of religio and superstitio, CW 37 (1943/44) 159f.

J. C. Plumpe published a very useful treatment of Roman concepts and qualities in his article on the Roman elements in Cicero's panegyric on the *Legio Martia*, *CJ* 36 (1940/41) 275-289. Sister Gertrude Emilie has published two articles, one on Cicero and the Roman *pietas*, *CJ* 39 (1943/44) 536-542, the other on friendship *CJ* 45 (1949/50) 379-383. L. M. Kaiser wrote on an aspect of Cicero's patriotism, *CW* 41 (1947/48) 230, while J. Bridge suggested that we have a tribute to Cicero in Horace's ode on *dulce et decorum est*, *CJ* 42 (1946/47) 340, 350, 367.

In a discussion of *cum dignitate otium*, P. Boyancé thinks that the whole digression on the Optimates has its foundation in Greek philosophy as well as in Roman thought, *REA* 43 (1941) 172-191; I have not seen the article on the same topic by A. Grilli in *Acme* 4 (1951) 227-240. E. Bernert took up the changes in the political meaning of *otium* in Cicero, Sallust, and Seneca, *WJA* 4 (1949/50) 89-99.

P. Grenade considered Cicero's views on the consulship as a focal point in Cicero's thinking about leadership with regard to the synthesis of Greek theory and Roman practice in the Republic, REL 29 (1951) 162-183; and M. Wheeler wrote on Cicero's political ideal in the De Republica, G&R 21 (1952) 49-56. P. F. Izzo pointed out that Cicero acted from practical but statesmanlike considerations in supporting the Manilian Law, CW 42

(1948/49) 168-172. S. E. Smethurst will discuss Cicero's views on Roman imperialism in an article to appear in *TAPA* 84 (1953).

There have been several articles dealing with the Ciceronian concept of the gentleman, or with social life and friendship: W. C. Korfmacher, CW 39 (1945/46) 138-141, 40 (1946/47) 50-53; M. A. Sollmann, CJ 47 (1951/52) 253-260, 297f.; L. M. Kaiser, CB 24 (1948) 59. O. E. Nybakken wrote a valuable paper on humanitas Romana, showing how the notion of humanitas was peculiarly Ciceronian, TAPA 70 (1939) 396-413. G. P. Hayes took up the topic of Cicero's humanism today, CJ 34 (1938/39) 283-290. W. D. Lowrance wrote on Roman dinners and diners, CJ 35 (1939/40) 86-91, and F. E. Adcock on women in Roman life and letters in various periods, G&R 14 (1945) 1-11.

10. Articles: Literary Topics

P. MacKendrick showed that the De oratore is propagandistic but that it contains a worthy ideal of education, CJ 43 (1947/48) 339-347; W. L. Grant discussed what Cicero has to say of the moral character of the orator (vir bonus), CJ 38 (1942/43) 472-478; A. Guillemin pointed out Cicero's emphasis on the necessity of refinement and culture for the orator, REL 25 (1947) 148-157; W. Steidle described the influence of Roman life and thought on the De oratore, MH 9 (1952) 10-41; H. Roloff, who in 1936 published a Leipzig dissertation on 'Maiores' bei Cicero, also discussed maiores and mos maiorum in Cicero's thinking in NJAB 2 (1939) 257-266. P. Defourny, with regard to history as part of the training of the orator, discussed Cicero's distinction between the genus historicum and the genus oratorium, LEC 21 (1953) 156-166. E. Gilson, in Phoenix 7 (1953) 1-19, elaborates in a valuable and provocative manner on what Cicero meant by eloquence and knowledge (wisdom), and on Cicero's view of their relationship (identity).

Sister M. A. Trouard published a Chicago dissertation (1942) on Cicero's attitude towards the Greeks which will serve as a useful work of reference. R. Feger wrote of Cicero's views on the destruction of Corinth in 146, Hermes 80 (1952) 436-456. H. M. Howe calls it to our attention that Amafinius was a contemporary of Lucretius who achieved such influence among followers from the municipia of Italy that Cicero in his late dialogues was moved to attack their Epicureanism as a political danger, AJP 72 (1951) 57-62.

Some minor literary matters also come into our consideration. E. V. Marmorale believes that in the famous verse Cicero wrote "concedat laurea laudi," RFIC N. S. 25 (1947) 118-120. G. Pasquali discussed the resemblance between the sempiternal o fortunatam natam and the et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam of Horace's epistle to Augustus (v. 256), SFIC 24 (1950) 127i.

A. Fellin wrote on the "risonanze" of Cicero's *De consulatu* in Lucretius, *RFIC* 79 (1951) 307-316. Cicero naturally forms part of F. Bömer's discussion of the literary nature and history of the *commentarius*, *Hermes* 81 (1953) 210-250.

Some literary matters lead us to consider Cicero's associations with other people. G. L. Hendrickson proposed that Brutus' De virtute was the "letter from Asia" sent in 47 B.C. to Cicero when he was waiting at Brundisium, and that Cicero wrote the Brutus in return, AJP 60 (1939) 401-413. J. André wrote about Asinius Pollio and his political and personal relationship with Cicero, REL 24 (1946) 151-169, 25 (1947) 122-147. J. Schwartz investigated the possible sources of the anecdotes which concern Caesar, Cicero, Decimus Laberius, and Publilius Syrus, REA 50 (1948) 264-271. J. H. Collins wrote on Tullia's engagement and marriage to Dolabella, CJ 47 (1951/52) 164-168, 186; the same author also took up Cicero's probable relationship with Catullus and with Catullus' personal circle, CJ 48 (1952/53) 11-17, 36-41. J. Martin wrote a discussion on Lucretius and Cicero which really takes Cicero's famous letter only as a starting point, WJA 4 (1949/50) 1-52, 309-329.

11. Articles: The Historical Background

There are some historical articles which are relevant to the topic of our survey. M. A. Sollmann based an article on electioneering chiefly on the Commentariolum petitionis, CJ 44 (1948/49) 189-194. In an elaborate investigation A. Afzelius essentially confirmed Gelzer's conclusion that nobility in the Ciceronian Period was usually based on consular ancestry, C&M 1 (1938) 40-94. I have not seen G. Moebus, "Nobilitas: Wesen und Wandlung der führenden Schicht Roms im Spiegel einer Wortprägung," NJAB (1942) 275-292, but I gather that it deals with the ideals of the nobility. L. Wickert has shown us the relationship of the Hellenistic "ideal king" to the principes of the Roman Republic in the first half of an article in Klio 36 (1944) 1-25.

Much about Cicero and Sallust's attitude towards him enters into H. Last's paper on Sallust and Caesar in the Bellum Catilinae, Mélanges Marouzeau (Paris 1948) 355-369. L. R. Taylor has taken up several aspects of Caesar's life which are important to the study of Ciceronian politics. In one article she considered Caesar's priestly and magisterial career to the year 65, CP 36 (1941) 113-132, with the understanding that for the next five years of Caesar's life one would look to H. Strasburger, Caesars Eintrit in die Geschichte. Miss Taylor considered Caesar's political associations before 60 in TAPA 73 (1942) 1-24. She also wrote on the chronology of Caesar's first consulship in AJP 72 (1951) 254-268, a subject which naturally involves the terminal date of Caesar's Gallic proconsulship (cf. G. R. Elton, JRS

36 [1946] 18-42); in this connection we should likewise refer to E. T. Salmon on Caesar and the consulship for 49 B.C., CI 34 (1938/39) 388-395. Miss Taylor has also written an unusually interesting article on the influence of foreign groups (Roman citizens) on Roman politics in the time of Cicero and Caesar, i.e. the freedmen, neighborhood guilds, religious groups, Hommages à Joseph Bides et à Franz Cumont (Brussels [1949?];=Collectection Latomus II) 323-330. J. Vogt used especially Ciceronian evidence in his discussion of the deification of Caesar, Studies Presented to David M. Robinson II (St. Louis 1953) 1138-1146.

C. E. Stevens discussed the political situation in Rome as the principal motive for invasions of Britain, Antiquity 21 (1947) 3-9; the same author informs us in a lively article that the Commentaries, based, with detectable modifications, on annual despatches, were intended to commend Caesar for the consular elections of 50 B.C., Latomus 11 (1952) 3-18, 165-179; the same author has also suggested that the provincial arrangements after the conference at Luca were not really made until 55 B.C., Latomus 12 (1953) 14-21. J.-P. Borle dealt with both the political and constitutional events of 55-50 B.C., LEC 20 (1952) 168-180. J. P. V. D. Balsdon's article on consular provinces under the late Republic is a fundamental article, which personally I value more for its "General Considerations" than for its "Caesar's Gallic Command"; it is most informative on the workings of the assignments to provincial commands, JRS 29 (1939) 57-73, 167-183. Balsdon, in reply to Elton in JRS 1946, wrote an addendum to his own article (in JRS 1939) in CR 63 (1949) 14i.

K. von Fritz, with regard to 49 B.C., discussed the time of Pompey's military decision to evacuate Italy and the way in which Pompey's military activities were hampered by political considerations, TAPA 73 (1942) 145-180; he previously had treated the mission of L. Caesar and L. Roscius in January of 49 B.C., TAPA 72 (1941) 125-156. M. Radin seemed to me to have the better of the argument in a dispute with H. J. Haskell about the senate's summons to Brutus, CJ 39 (1943/44) 29f., 30f.: Brutus was not formally summoned to Italy in the spring of 43 by a senatus consultum, without which he did not feel that he could come; Cicero's use of auctoritas in Ad M. Brut. 1.10.1 is not adequately explicit.

The following articles are mentioned for the very good reason that they explain points which, although not directly about Cicero, will puzzle the Ciceronian. T. R. S. Broughton explained that the senate in 61 B.C. was unwilling to ratify Pompey's settlement of the East because he had not had a senatorial commission to advise him, TAPA 77 (1946) 40-43. E. M. Sanford based her discussion of Romans and provincials on Ciceronian evidence, CW 42 (1948/49) 195-201. A. Momigliano has an excellent discussion of Epicureanism, especially in politics around 44 B.C., in a review in JRS 31 (1941)

149-157. K. von Fritz had a long section on the senatus consultum ultimum in a paper in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1942, III, 221-237. A. H. M. Jones deals with the Ciceronian Period in the first few pages of an article on the Roman civil service (clerical and sub-clerical grades), JRS 39 (1949) 38-55; and he likewise discussed the financial machinery of the late Republic in the first part of an article on the acrarium and the fiscus, JRS 40 (1950) 22-29. E. Gabba wrote, in the modern trend of "practical politics," on the political (i.e. civil) consequences and effects of the professional army from Marius to Augustus, Athenaeum N. S. 29 (1951) 171-272.

12. Articles: Economic and Constitutional History

Now a brief selection of articles on economics, E. J. Jonkers, in a short treatment of Wechsel and Kreditbriefe, has shown how little they were developed in Cicero's time, Mn 9 (1940/41) 182-186. The book by H. Frisch on Buthrotier-Affaeren (Copenhagen 1942), which I have not seen, must deal with the complicated matter, in which Atticus was vitally interested, of the difficulties of Buthrotum for non-payment of some taxes. J. Ruelens took up the topic of the economic basis of the Ciceronian Period and its social consequences, LEC 19 (1951) 330-343. C. A. Yeo has written two related articles which are essential to anyone who wishes to keep up on the economic background of Roman studies: "The Development of the Roman Plantation and Marketing of Farm Products," Finanzarchiv 13 (1952) 321-342; "The Economics of Roman and American Slavery," Finanzarchiv 13 (1952) 445-485. We should also note the extensive references to ancient economy, which furnish a good abstract notion of the basis of Ciceronian society, in The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire, Vol. 1: The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages (Cambridge 1942).

Some constitutional matters are pertinent to our period. A. Piganiol gave a bibliographical review of the present state of problems relative to Roman institutions in Mémorial des Études latines (the first Mélanges Marouzeau: Paris 1943) 290-294. To the already mentioned article by Afzelius defining nobility in the Ciceronian Period we should add his article defining nobility before the Ciceronian Period, C&M 7 (1945) 150-200. The same author also wrote on the ages required for officeholding, with the influence of military service on the required ages, C&M 8 (1946) 263-278; the same matter comes up in the article by L. Renders about the dates of birth and of the quaestorship of the younger Cato, with Renders' decision that he held the quaestorship in 65 or perhaps in 64, AC 8 (1939) 111-125; to this we should now add a reference to Broughton, Magistrates, where there is a long note on Cato as quaestor in 64. R. Düll discussed the influence of the apparitores on the

magistrates, e.g. Cic. Leg. 3.46 and 48 ZRG (Rom. Abt.) 63 (1943) 393-396. L. R. Taylor and T. R. S. Broughton suggested the strong probability that the consul elected first had priority in holding the fasces and in having his name appear in official lists, also that there was monthly alternation of the fasces between the two consuls throughout the Republic, MAAR 19 (1949) 1-14.

The vexed problem of the nature of the reform of the comitia centuriata is of importance to our understanding of some Ciceronian passages, as about his election to the consulship; the matter is now as much complicated as it is illuminated by the use of the so-called Tabula Hebana. The nature of the Ciceronian passages themselves is so skimpy and self-contradictory that I doubt that the last word has been written or can be written. The most pertinent articles, omitting those which bear more on other aspects of the Tabula Hebana, appear to be: A. dell'Oro, PP 5 (1950) 132-150; A. Biscardi, PP 6 (1951) 241-256; A. Piganiol, CRAI 1951, pp. 204-213 [which I have not seen]; E. S. Stavely, AIP 74 (1953) 1-33; E. Schönbauer, Historia 2 (1953) 21-49.

M. Hammond has given us a discussion of the dual citizenship described in Leg. 2.1-5, HSCP 60 (1951) 147-174. A. N. Sherwin-White takes up the extortion procedure again, JRS 42 (1952) 43-55, in a reply to M. I. Henderson who in JRS 41 (1951) 71-88 treated Sherwin-White's article in PBSR 17 (N. S. 4; 1949) 5-25; naturally there is much discussion from Cicero. V. Ehrenberg's article on imperium maius in the Roman Republic really is principally concerned with Augustus, AJP 74 (1953) 113-136, and it follows upon the long note by H. Last, JRS 37 (1947) 157-164; we should also note that W. R. Loader, in writing of Pompey's command under the lex Gabinia, believes in the idea of imperium maius, CR 54 (1940) 134-136. J. Béranger observed that Cicero was not using technical language when he spoke of Mark Antony (father of the triumvir), Gabinius, and Piso; hence he writes that there was probably no theory of imperium infinitum, Mélanges Marouzeau (Paris 1948) 19-27. H. Hill has concealed a valuable discussion of the equestrian order under the title of his book The Roman Middle Class in the Republican Period (Oxford 1952).

13. Articles: Contemporaries

We may conclude with some articles which are largely on the biographies of personages of the Ciceronian Period, and it is enough to list the authors and their topics in order to show that they contain material relevant to Cicero. I can recommend the pertinence

and the excellence of the following: E. M. Sanford, Aulus Gabinius, TAPA 70 (1939) 64-92; A. Garzetti, practically a monograph about Crassus, Athenaeum N. S. 19 (1941) 1-37, N. S. 20 (1942) 12-40, N. S. 22-23 (1944/45) 1-62; L. Austin, Caerellia, CJ 41 (1945/46) 305-309; M. Polignano, Dolabella, RAL Ser. 8, Vol. 1 (1946) 240-275, 444-501; W. C. McDermott, Manius Curius, CW 41 (1947/48) 179-184; I. M. Garrido Božić, Cicero's nephew Quintus, G&R 20 (1951) 11-25; J. E. Seaver, Publius Ventidius, CJ 47 (1951/52) 275-280, 300. I have not seen F. Adami's paper about "Der Legat Q. Tullius Cicero," NJAB (1942) 45-48, but it is based on the Ciceronian correspondence.

We may note, in somewhat more detail, that A. D. Simpson explained the reasons why the picturesque but erroneous details have become attached to the departure of Crassus for Parthia; Cicero knew only of Crassus' neglect of the dirarum obnuntiatio, TAPA 69 (1938) 532-541. C. C. Coulter wrote on Marcus Brutus and the Brutus of Accius, CJ 35 (1939/40) 460-470. E. Manni reviewed the main events of Clodius' career and tried to bring order out of chaos, RFIC N. S. 18 (1940) 161-178. H. Bloch dealt with considerations arising from an inscription in Samothrace to Piso, the philhellene; naturally there is use of Ciceronian material, AJA 44 (1940) 485-493. A. Afzelius wrote on the political significance of the younger Cato both in his lifetime and after his death, C&M 4 (1941) 100-203. G. M. A. Richter wrote on glyptic portraits of the late Republic and early Empire in the Metropolitan Museum; of particular interest are the portraits of M. Junius Brutus on intaglios, Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont (Brussels [1949?]; = Collection Latomus II) 295-302. A. E. Raubitschek was concerned with Attic inscriptions mentioning Phaidros and his Roman pupils, notably Atticus; Phaidros, Cicero's friend and at one time in charge of the Epicurean School at Athens, died in 70 B.C., Hesperia 18 (1949) 96-103. R. J. Leslie wrote on The Epicureanism of Titus Pomponius Atticus (Philadelphia 1950), but the work contains more on Atticus' life and association with Cicero than the title would indicate. F. Oertel reëxamines the evidence about the Sallustian invective against Cicero and decides for its authenticity; there is a useful summary of bibliography to date, RhM 94 (1951) 46-68. F. E. Brown published a paper about part of the head of a contemporary statue of Pompey, a vigorous Pompey, Studies Presented to David M. Robinson I (St. Louis 1951) 761-764. W. E. Caldwell wrote of Pompey that he was "a competent general," "an able administrator but a poor politician," Studies Presented to David M. Robinson II (St. Louis 1953) 954-961.

WALTER ALLEN, JR.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIA-TION COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL TRAINING AND TRENDS*

Oi particular interest to the American Philological Association (and other classical organizations) at the present time are the plans and activities of the recently established American Council of Learned Society's Committee on the Relation of Learned Societies to American Education. This committee held its initial meeting in New York on November 7, 1953, where it was decided that the general purpose of the committee should be to determine the ways and the extent to which the learned societies could help the agencies of American education fulfill their functions in American society. There was implicit agreement that there was room for improvement on all levels of education in this country, that the immediate task was to discover what contributions the learned societies could make to such improvement, and that a particular emphasis should be put upon the desirability of positive, constructive action by the ACLS. The procedure formulated contained, among others, the following planned actions: (1) an immediate invitation to all interested member societies to submit to the committee as soon as practicable their plans for the study of their proper relation to American education-plans that reveal how each society proposes to go about determining this relation, that will indicate the areas (viz. graduate school, college, high school, elementary school) in which the society is interested and the scale of investigation that it envisages; (2) the preparation, by the late Spring of this year (1954), of a proposal of investigative action based on the plans submitted by the interested constituent societies, to be presented initially to the Board of Directors of the ACLS and ultimately to the foundations.

The APA Committee on Educational Training and Trends, acting upon the invitation of the ACLS committee, has devised a plan, sketched below, for a fact-finding investigation in specific areas. The APA committee believes: that, certainly, the APA, as an important custodian of classical scholarship and research in this country, is directly concerned with graduate education in the classics; that scholarship and research cannot exist for very long in mid-air, unsupported, but must rest upon a broad foundation in the colleges and schools; that the

The committee further recommends that the first investigation be placed in the hands of a single individual acting as Director, chosen by the Directors of the APA-such person to devote full time, on full salary commensurate with his professional rank, to the accumulation and interpretation of data; that he be instructed to present a fullscale report ready for printed publication, subject to the approval of the Directors of the APA. It is expected that this director will base his study upon three main sources: (1) published literature, (2) replies to a series of carefully framed questionnaires, (3) personal interviews obtained by extensive travel. He therefore should have adequate secretarial assistance and adequate travelling expenses. It is also expected that this committee and other appropriate committees of the APA, the membership at large, and the ACLS committee and ACLS staff will be available for consultation and advice and will help in whatever ways are feasible. It is obvious that the success of the study will depend in large measure upon the thoughtful, frank, detailed answers to questionnaires and more than casual interviews.

In order to indicate the scope of the survey (first stage) which the committee envisages, it suggests, with no idea of prescription, the following possible subjects for exploration: (1) Conditions in the Profession; (2) Objectives and Standards in Graduate Education; (3)

defense and furthering of classical studies at all levels is always the immediate concern of the Association. The committee, therefore, recommends a three-stage program of search into the status of the classics in American education: the first stage to be an investigation on the graduate level, the execution of which shall be the responsibility of the APA (under the guidance of the ACLS) and which shall be begun as soon as practicable after funds are secured; the second stage to be an investigation on the college level, undertaken after the completion of the first stage, the execution of which will require the considerable cooperation of other classical societies, but will remain under the general direction of the APA (it may prove to be desirable, for many reasons, to run these two investigations concurrently or overlap them closelythis can be determined later); the third stage to be an investigation on the high school (and private preparatory school) level. The APA will be able to give this third stage of the program encouragement, help, guidance, and advice, of which there will be a rich store accruing from its experience in the directorship of the first two stages. However, the APA should probably not be more than a partner in the endeavor. The administrative details of this third stage cannot be forseen clearly at the present time. Perhaps an ad hoc council can be formed, containing representatives from the various classical bodies, a council which will formulate the details of action and elect a general director.-It is estimated that the first stage will require a year, the second at least a year, if not more, and the third at least two years.

^{*} The following is a digest, prepared by Professor Samuel D. Atkins, of Princeton University, Committee Chairman, of the central portion of a report by the APA Committee on Educational Training and Trends to the membership of the APA at its annual meeting in New York, December 28-30, 1953. The report was presented at the society's business meeting and was approved for submission to the ACLS Committee on the Relation of Learned Societies to American Education mentioned in the first paragraph above. The other members of the APA Committee were Professor Norman T. Pratt, Jr., University of Indiana, and Professor John B. McDiarmid, University of Washington.

Relative Quality of Graduate Students in Classics (as compared with those in other disciplines); (4) Recruitment and Selection; (5) Content of Graduate Study (A. Substantive, B. Special Fields, C. Training for Research, D. Training for Teachers); (6) The Typical Graduate Department of Classics; (7) Conclusions and Recommendations.

The committee refrains from even attempting to spell out prematurely the second stage of the survey in the belief that the experience gained from the first stage will be an extremely important factor in determining the character of the second. It also believes that the methods of operation for the third stage and the directions which such a survey are likely to take cannot now be even approximately outlined.

It would be the committee's hope and intention that such a program would not be merely a series of reports. It feels that the APA membership would want something more than a warmed-over Classical Investigation. Therefore the committee recommends that the Directors and the Association consider the advisability of establishing machinery which would permit positive actions, both those bearing specifically upon the classics and those relating to American education in general—actions of various sorts, informative, corrective, instructive, admonitory, laudatory, etc.—during the course of the surveys.

Whether the plan outlined above, or any part thereof, or modification, can be carried out with the help and guidance and support of the ACLS will probably depend upon whether there are enough constituent societies sufficiently interested in their relation to American education to submit proposals for programs of investigation and evaluation; whether the ACLS committee can work out a coherent, broad program of investigative and evaluative action, based on the various proposals, that will secure the approval of the ACLS directors; and whether the foundations can be interested. In other words, this digest describes a tentative first step taken by one society.

SAMUEL D. ATKINS

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

REVIEWS

Der Platonische Dialog Hippias Maior, By Marion Soreth. ("Zetemata," No. 6.) Munich: Beck, 1953. Pp. viii, 64. DM 6.50.

After a general introduction (1-4), reviewing the judgments of previous Platonists on the genuineness of the dialogue, the paper-bound monograph summarizes the Hippias Maior according to the following outline: The introduction of the dialogue (4-12); the introduction of the main theme, "What is beauty" (12-17); the reply of Hippias, "A beautiful girl is beautiful" (17-25); Hippias' reply, "Beauty is gold" (25-30); the reply of Hippias, "It is beautiful, after living in wealth, health and honor and after burying parents, to be buried properly by children" (30-32); the definition of Socrates, "Beauty is the suitable" (32-46); Socrates' definition, "Beauty is the useful" (46-48); the definition of Socrates, "Beauty is the pleasure perceptible through the eyes and ears" (49-62); and final observations (63-64).

Soreth compares the *Hippias Maior* to other Platonic dialogues, particularly the *Euthyphro* and *Phaedo*, in respect to the occasion of the conversations, the personality of the speakers, and especially the terminology and argument for the theory of ideas. The chief consideration of the volume concerns the authenticity of the dialogue, which has been questioned by Schleiermacher, rejected by Ast and Wilamowitz, but defended by Grube and Friedländer, and now by Soreth.

On the basis of context the author ventures several variations from the text of Burnet—retaining poicin (294e3), preferring a comma between zôtoumen and einai and a colon after poici (294e2), and omitting to before auto (294e3).

In the opinion of the reviewer the content is logical and sound, rising above Wilamowitz's objections, for example, to the use of Homeric terms as mermeros and dianckês; it appears only logical for Plato to employ such words in a conversation between Socrates and a professed interpreter of Homer. No attempt is made, however, to trace the argument of the dialogue, clarifying the verbal ambiguities and explaining Plato's probable views on aesthetics.

ROBERT G. HOERBER

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, FULTON, MISSOURI

Dionysos Liknites. By Martin P. Nilsson. ("K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Arsberättelse," 1951-1952, I.) Lund: Gleerup, 1952, Pp. 18. Price not stated.

An unusual fifth-century jug in the Vlasto collection in Athens, illustrated in Gerard van Hoorn's Choes and Anthesteria (Leiden 1951) fig. 38 (Catalogue no. 271, p. 97), gives Professor Nilsson occasion to reexamine the place of the winnowing-fan or basket (liknon) in the cult of Dionysus. The vase shows the god's bearded mask resting in a liknon, to which women bring offerings. The nature of the case, a chous, confirms Nilsson's view, against Deubner and Frickenhaus, connecting the vase paintings of a mask of Dionysus on a pole with the day of the Choes, the second day of the Anthesteria festival, rather than with the Lenaea. The use of the

liknon, as basket or cradle, is not necessarily sacred in pre-Hellenistic times, but its use in Dionysiac rituals, along with other essentially secular objects, made it a convenient symbol in the widespread Dionysiac mysteries of a later age. These post-classical rites are not concerned with reawakening a young vegetation god but revolve around a god symbolizing rebirth (a concept with roots in the "Orphic" myths and later exploited by the Neo-Platonists) and the prospect of a future life in the form of Dionysiac revelry, as shown on numerous sarcophagi. Scenes of a child in the liknon may represent a child's initiation in this particularly child-loving age. For adults, the climax of the initiation may have been the revelation of the veiled liknon in which was placed the phallus (a symbol here of the life-giving power rather than of agricultural fertility) surrounded by fruit.

M. H. JAMESON

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

BRIEF NOTICES

W. S. MAGUINESS (ed.). Virgil, Aeneid XII. London: Methuen, 1953. Pp. vii, 150. 5s. 9d. (with vocabulary 6s. 9d.)

This compact edition of Aeneid XII, a good book to represent the second half of the poem, should be welcome in the late high school or early college classroom. Its introduction deals briefly with the well-known facts of Virgil's life and of the development of epic poetry; and more extensively and very well with what the modern reader should look for in epic and then with the hexameter. To assist in scansion and reading the vocabulary shows vowel quantity. The text (based on OCT) is accompanied by good notes (with special reference to other parts of Virgil and to Homer) which a student should find enlightening. There should be no pleas of "he only tells me what I know." A good basic bibliography is included.

New York

Ellenor Swallow

RICHARD HAMANN. Herakles findet Telephos. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953. Pp. 17; 9 ill. DM 3.50. (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, Nr. 9.)

The object of this study is the well-known wall painting from the basilica in Herculaneum, now in Naples, with Herakles finding his son Telephos suckled by a hind (Hermann-Bruckmann, Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums, pls. 78-80. Last and best illustration: Mabel M. Gabriel, Masters of Campanian Painting [New York 1952] pp. Iff., pls. 1-5). Hamann rejects the former explanations as a copy of Pergamene painting or as the copy of a Greek composition with senseless additions of the winged girl, Pau, fruit basket, eagle, and lion. He explains the composition, created in the first century

A.D., as purely Roman in form and content; although he concedes that all Roman art is in the "tradition of Greek art and this picture particularly is in the tradition of Hellenistic painting. The fact that Telephos nourished by an animal is used as a counterpart to Romulus and Remus nourished by the she-wolf on tomb altars and in terracotta reliefs (figs. 6-7) is in favor of Hamann's opinion. The reviewer believes, however, that the mural painter—as probably most Campanian painters—copied single figures from the many Greek panel paintings which were in Roma as a consequence of the Roman conquest of all Greek lands. Only the composition as a whole she believes to be the work of an eelectic mural painter of the imperial period.

Columbia University

Margarete Bieber

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW and RICHARD EMERY (trans.). The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, by Otto of Freising and His Continuator, Rahewin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. xi, 366; frontispiece. \$5.50. (Records of Civilization, No. 49.)

In 1928 Mierow's translation of Bishop Otto of Freising's most famous work, the Two Cities, was published. This chronicle of world history to 1146 has led many to regard Otto as the greatest philosophical historian of the twelfth century. The Deeds, or Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris, is a much more factual official history, but nonetheless the most important source for the reign of Frederick (1152-1190). In it Otto treated broadly the period 1075-1152 and more minutely the first five years of Frederick's rule; Otto's secretary, Rahewin, borrowing profusely from earlier Latin writers, brought the account down to 1160.

Otto was the half brother of Conrad III and the uncle of Barbarossa. It is not surprising, then, that he favored his family in the *Gesta* even while he provided precious

historical data.

The translation is done carefully and well, Otto the stylist having presented greater difficulties than Rahewin. An introduction, copious footnotes, and a full ography make this volume very useful.

Fordham University

James S. Donnelly

NOTES AND NEWS

The New Jersey Classical Association will hold its annual Spring Meeting Saturday, May 1, 1954, at 11:00 A.M., in Ballantine Hall, Rutgers University. The speakers will be Professor Richard M. Haywood, New York University, "The Portrait of the Old Roman," and Professor John H. Young, The Johns Hopkins University, "The Art of the Muses" (illustrated).

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the West Virginia Junior Classical League will be held under the auspices of the Department of Classics, West Virginia University, at Morgantown, Saturday, April 24, 1954.

The Iowa Classical Conference will be held at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Friday and Satur-

day, April 30 and May 1, 1954. The Friday evening lecture, on "Ancient Ostia," will be given by Professor Henry T. Rowell, The Johns Hopkins University. The Saturday afternoon session will be devoted to a panel-audience discussion on "Opportunities of Professional Growth for Latin Teachers."

"Why I Teach," a contest for teachers, to encourage good teachers to remain in the teaching profession, and eligible young people to enter it, is again being sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary. The contest opened November 1, 1953, and closes at midnight May 1, 1954.

Mrs. Carl W. Zeller, of Gibsonburg, Ohio, National Security Chairman of the American Legion Auxiliary, in announcing plans for the contest, which was held last year (see CW 46 [1952/53] 213, s. v. "Operation Blackboard") and is being continued as part of the national security program of the Auxiliary, has announced that contestants must have completed five years of teaching by June 1, 1954, and that each entry must be accompanied by a signed statement of release, giving the American Legion Auxiliary permission to use the entry.

The subject of this year's contest is, "The Purposes and Goals of a Teacher in a Free America." The form of the essay must be an open letter to a high school graduate, and the entry may not exceed 300 words, not be less than 100.

Both Divisional and National awards will be given. The Divisional awards will consist of a \$50 U. S. savings bond, to be given to the contestant having the winning entry in each of the five Divisions. The National award will consist of a \$250 U. S. savings bond, and will go to one of the five Divisional winning contestants. In addition, each Department may give a Department award if it desires. The judges will be selected from an outstanding group of citizens. Each Department, or state, has fixed midnight of May 1, 1954, as the deadline for the state entries. The winning entry will then be forwarded to the Divisional national security chairman by June 15, 1954, and the winning entry in each Division will then be forwarded to the national vicechairman of the National Security Committee, Mrs. Lamont Seals, Homer, Louisiana, by June 25, 1954.

The first prize winner in the 1953 "Why I Teach" Contest was Weston Cate, Jr. of Hartford, Vermont, who teaches at White River Junction, Vermont, and is

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the father of three boys. Mr. Cate won not only the first prize of \$500 and a trip to the American Legion Auxiliary's National Convention, but also a \$100 bond as essay prize winner of the Eastern Division. Other Divisional bond winners were Mrs. Nancy Broughton of Richmond, Virginia; L. H. Brewster of Osborne, Kansas; Miss Cherry Burgeson of Longview, Washington; and Mrs. Maxine C. Wiseman of Mount Vernon, South Dakota.

BOOKS RECEIVED

KOLLER, H. Die Mimesis in der Antike: Nachahmung, Darstellung, Ausdruck. ("Dissertationes Bernenses," Ser. I, Fasc. 5.) Bern: A. Francke, 1954. Pp. 235.
Sw. Fr. 22 (bound, Sw. Fr. 26).

J. A. Nairn's Classical Hand-List. Edited by B. H. Blackwell Ltd. Third edition. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell Ltd., 1953. Pp. viii, 158, 12s. 6d. (interleaved, 22s. 6d.).

RIESENFELD, HARALD, and BLENDA RIESENFELD. Repertorium Lexicographicum Graecum: A Catalogue of Indexes and Dictionaries to Greek Authors. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954. Pp. 95. Sw. Cr. 22.

ROBINSON, CHARLES ALEXANDER, JR. (ed.). The Spring of Civilization: Periclean Athens. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xv, 464; 48 plates. \$7.50.

Studi offerti dai discepoli al Prof. Plinio Fraccaro per il suo LXX genetliaco. (= Athenaeum, N.S., Vol. XXXI.) Pavia: Università, 1953. Pp. 396; plates. L. 1500 (foreign subscriptions L. 2000).

This We Believe about Education. A Statement Concerning Education by the Educational Advisory Committee and the Educational Advisory Council of the National Association of Manufacturers. New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1954. Pp. 32. (Copies may be obtained on request from the Education Department, National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th St., New York 20, N. Y.)

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